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THE FUTURE OF THE PACIFIC

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1. THE PAST FORESHADOWS THE FUTURE

The only sound method of prediction is study of the past: Not that history exactly repeats itself; but that similar antecedents and conditions produce similar results. The lightning success of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic campaigns inevitably led to the aspiration for world-dominion and as inevitably led to the persistence of a sea power as nucleus of an opposition that could not but end in the downfall of the aspirant. The Potsdam magnates had studied the history of a century ago and thought that they would avoid Napoleon's mistakes. What they could not evade was the law of causation and every new outrage they have committed for the purpose of making sure of their goal has made their defeat more certain. These too successful wars made dynastic and national intoxication inevitable; and nature teaches us daily as well as all through history the destiny that lies in wait for the inebriate who runs amuck. The Potsdammers did not study history widely enough or human nature deeply enough.

2. THE ISOLATION OF THE PACIFIC

It may seem irrelevant to apply this to the Pacific Ocean and futile to judge of its future by its past, for it has been the most isolated of all seas and seems to be the last arena of human history. It has been side tracked from human power and ambition, and is only now about to come into its own, as the greatest expanse of water on the face of the globe. Its shores were occupied by peoples who were afraid to sail far from the coasts or coastal islands and never mastered the art of oceanic navigation till Europeans taught them.

And it is scarcely four centuries since even these were bold enough to venture into "that untravelled world, whose margin" seemed to "fade for ever and for ever as they moved."

3. IMPERIALISM WAS NOT UNKNOWN IN THE PACIFIC

But it is a mistake to think that imperialistic ambition never dared the perils of this great ocean, before European commerce gave it form and aim. Even in the Polynesian groups there is evidence enough that this is untrue. Hawaii does not stand alone as the arena of conquest and empire. The work of Kamehameha is a commonplace, but centuries before him kings like Umi consolidated royal power in the larger islands. It was the same story in the Society group, the Samoan, and the Tongan. Even in the smaller groups and islands of Polynesia, as, for example, in the Austral Islands and Easter Island we hear of monarchies. While in the extensive areas of New Zealand there was a growing tendency towards kingship which almost came to achievement early in the nineteenth century in the southward raids of Te Rauparaha. It was the great distances dividing not only the groups but the islands in each group that made a wider imperialism impossible, in spite of the marvellous command of oceanic navigation that the Polynesians had early acquired. But the strict law of interchange of consonants in the various dialects, some of them now separated by four or five thousand miles of ocean, postulates a development of their interrelated peculiarities in a confined area over which constant peaceful intercourse was made possible by the concentration of organised government in the hands of a monarch; this was doubtless in their vanished fatherland, Hawaiki, now the spirit land of many of the groups. That it lay in the east of the central Pacific seems to be indicated by the routes of the various migrations.

4. VANISHED EMPIRES IN MICRONESIA

There are other signs of submerged empires in the Pacific Ocean. These are to be found in Micronesia between Polynesia and Japan. On the southeast coast of Ponape one of the most easterly of the Carolines there exist the ruins of a megalithic Venice, Metalanim, that could not have come into existence without an organized government with the absolute command of a population of at least twenty times as great as the islands within a radius of 1500 miles could support; the blocks that compose the walls are so huge and some of the walls so high that it would need the muscle of hundreds, if not thousands, of workmen to haul them into position, and the work of tens of thousands more to supply these with the necessities of life; its artificial islands and water-streets cover an area of eleven square miles.

Away to the west in the little island of Uleai I found a script still in use among the chiefs, as far ahead of the Chinese ideographs as the latter are ahead of mere picture-writing. It consists of a syllabary of between fifty and sixty characters and is also in use in another little island a hundred miles to the northeast of it called Faraulep. Such a method of record and communication could not have come into existence, much less persisted, unless an organized empire required it. Again on the east coast of Yap, a much larger island some four hundred miles to the northwest of it, there is a coastal village called Gatespar, to whose chief, one of the least powerful in the island, there come yearly canoes over hundreds of miles of stormy ocean with tribute; the tributers, when asked why they pay such homage to so obscure a chief, declare that he would raise hurricanes and earthquakes to destroy them if they did not. This too looks like the relics of a great imperial power in these islands.

5. THEIR FOUNDERS MUST HAVE COME OUT OF THE WINTRY NORTH

Now if there is one thing clearer than another in human history it is that no imperial stimulus has ever come out of the tropics and no empire has ever been organised in the

zone whose organisers have not come from outside the tropics. It is in the temperate zone alone have existed the climatic conditions that could make organising power an instinct of man. The long winters compel intense energy in the seasons fit for the raising of food and the keenest foresight in providing for the foodless times; and without organisation these might still land a community in famine and annihilation. The organiser is a necessity of life in the long-wintered zone; he is a luxury in the tropics where nature is so generous. And periodical famines, in spite of hard work and foresight, drive the more warlike organisers into descents upon the fuller supplies in and close to the tropics.

We will not be far wrong, then, in assuming that the empires whose relics are to be found in the Pacific Ocean were founded by migrants from the north temperate zone. We may also assume that they did not need to remain too many generations in tropical climates before they founded them. Tropical light blunts the nerve-ends and tropical heat relaxes the tissues. And before long the imperialistic impulse fades away and the faculty of imperial organisation grows feebler, unless some new goad of nature that will not be evaded, such as the sinking of an insular fatherland, stirs them to new energy and enterprise.

6. TOO LONG RESIDENCE WOULD HAVE QUENCHED THE IMPERIALISTIC FIRES

If the conquering, imperialistic migrants had had to come all the thousands of miles from India or the Malay Archipelago, right in the teeth of the trade winds, that would make the migration cover many generations, if not centuries; they would have left relics of their empire-making tendencies on the way. But there are none; not even the trace of a kingship, along the coasts of New Guinea and through the widely-ranged groups of Melanesia. There every village fights against its neighbour; there is nothing but village or minute local organisation, the very antipodes of empire. And such long saturation in the tropics would have left the monarchic capacity a mere shadow of itself

before it reached the central Pacific. If we are to explain the continued stimulus towards monarchical organisation that showed itself up till our own times in Polynesia, we must assume wave on wave of migration out of the north temperate zone.

7. THE ORGANISERS OF THE PACIFIC MUST BE FROM THE TEMPERATE ZONE AND MARITIME

And this is the postulate of healthy organisation of the islands of the Pacific Ocean in the future. The blood of the organisers must be renewed periodically from the cooler zones to the north or to the south. The era of European oceanic migration has at last brought the southern temperate zone into the sphere of human organising impetus. Belonging as it did to the oceanic hemisphere, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and the Argentine had to await the coming of oceanic man, before they could bring their influence to bear on human progress.

There is another feature of the past of the Pacific that must belong also to its future. It is that its organisers must be maritime. No race was ever so maritime as the Polynesian. He would undertake a voyage of thousands of miles of ocean without misgiving; he ventured out in directions he had never taken before, following the flight of birds and guided by the stars. Had it depended on the Papuan or Melanesian to bring the central groups of the Pacific within the human sphere, they would have been left to the seabirds till the Europeans came; even the Malays, daring coastal sailors though they were, never launched out into the unknown. Whatsoever race or races organise the Pacific Ocean must have a large supply of natural sailors, that is to say, sailors who have been accustomed from childhood to adapt themselves to the moods of the sea.

8. THE NATURAL NURSERIES OF SAILORS

It is quite true that many fine sailors come from inland; and the great lakes of America will always supply considerable numbers of hardy and skilled mariners for the oceanic

fleets of the United States and Canada. But for the bulk of crews that are to man the far voyaging ships, a nation must have natural breeding-grounds of oceanic sailors; these are the fiords and protected waters that tempt the boys into boats from early childhood; when manhood is reached all fear of the sea is gone; it is their plaything and comrade. The nation that has unbroken coast line like Peru and Chili can never be maritime in the true sense of the word; nor can the nation with ironbound precipitous coasts, unless it is insular and must find its way to other nations over the sea.

9. WHY AMERICA LEFT THE SEA FOR A TIME

The New England coasts, if not the whole Atlantic seaboard, formed the natural breeding-ground for the marine of the United States, they are broken into so many coves and bays. And in the early part of the nineteenth century it was one of the foremost maritime nations of the world. But the westward movement called the Americans away from the sea; the peopling of the great plains and other states beyond the Rockies absorbed their whole energies and ambitions for three-quarters of a century. Even the coastal growth of enterprise looked inland and not seaward for a career, especially after the Civil War, when the flocking of European immigrants gave every inland career an enormous unearned increment. It was this, along with the navigation laws passed by inland navigators, that brought the maritime enterprise of the United States to its nadir. The descent is about to be stopped; and the sounds of northern Oregon and the isles that stretch down the coast from Alaska will supply the sailors of her Pacific Ocean fleets. And in this new enterprise Canada will share to the full extent of her broken coastline and protected waters on the Pacific.

10. WHY BRITANNIA HAS RULED THE WAVES

But after all is said, it is the insular nations, provided they have plenty of protected waters, and are sufficiently large that have the best chance of making most of the sea.

Their people cannot move anywhere in the world without voyaging. They must have ships if they are to prosper; and one of the most important sections of them must be sailors; the natural career of a large proportion of their coastal growth must be on the sea; if they have much broken coastline and many protected waters, the boys take to it as a duck takes to the water.

We see this fully illustrated in the history of Great Britain. As soon as the center of commerce shifted from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, she could not help becoming the greatest seapower; and her isles and firths bred fishermen and sailors by the myriad. Had Germany only reflected more correctly on these facts of nature, she would have hesitated to enter on her great and now disastrous enterprise. She has but a small coastal line on the North Sea fit to be the nursery of sailors, while her Baltic Coast has little that approaches to this in suitability for maritime capacity. And a little study of Admiral Mahan's books would have shown her that in a world war the ultimate decision lies with seapower; the strongest navy holds the gate of the arena of combat and ultimately strangles the continental combatant. But she was mad enough to think that though Britannia rules the waves, she could counterbalance the advantage by "waiving the rules."

There are other advantages that Britain has as an island; she lies off a great and populous continent and always finds a ready market. Another is that she lies across the latitudes; her zones of climate produce each its own variety of character and talent; and being under one government and organisation, the peoples of the different zones mingle, and nature secures in this that infinite variety of type which is one of her essentials for developing a great people. The lack of this latter advantage is apparent in the history of ancient Crete; she lay in the very eye of ancient trade, and thrice she flourished and thrice she fell. For maritime though her people were, there was not sufficient variety of type out of which nature might evolve a permanently great nation; she lay along the latitudes, her people were all set in the same mould.

11. JAPAN AND NEW ZEALAND IN THE PACIFIC ARE ANALOGUES OF BRITAIN IN THE ATLANTIC

There are only two other insular domains with all the advantages that made Britain so great on the sea; and these are both in the Pacific Ocean. One is in the northern hemisphere, the other in the southern; but both are like Britain in the temperate zone with a moderately severe winter. The one is Japan, and the other New Zealand. One, though an ancient nation, is just about to arrive. The other, though still in its infancy has all the potentialities that may in the future make her a great nation. But Japan has everything in her favour for immediate achievement in the Pacific Ocean; she has an overflowing population with a high birthrate; she has the singular advantage of entering upon a new career in the wide world with the heredity and faculties and sinews of a vigorous past career; in this she is like a tree that has been kept pot-bound till its roots have absorbed most of its vitality and is then transferred to an unlimited range of soil in the open; it is bound to luxuriate in its new sphere. Japan is both old and young; she has her roots far into a distinguished past and she is stretching out in all directions, as capable of development and as full of ambitions as a youth just entering on the world. Still more, she has a great continent beside her to exploit; a great market for her goods and a great quarry of labour. But perhaps the most striking feature of reborn Japan is her passion for education and especially for Western education; if only China and she would abandon their impossible script, they would surpass all other nations in the rapid development of their intelligence. For the thousands of characters that an educated man must become familiar with handicap the majority of their people. The substitution of an alphabetic script would send Oriental education deep and far. This must occur before China can become a true republic, or Japan become saturated with that love of liberty which has been the source and inspiration of all true progress in the West.

12. THE DANGERS OF AN AUTOCRATIC GOVERNMENT

Were Japan to jettison that Prussian model of government which she deliberately adopted at her revolution not much more than a generation ago, she would go far to remove all suspicion of her designs in the Pacific and all fear of her following in the footsteps of her model. A divine autocracy is never without the risk of developing a Kaiser Wilhelm and abandoning all sanity in its ambitions and international policy. The fate of Napoleon did not ensure the world against the repetition of his attempt at world-domination. We are suffering the result of the autocratic monomania that, counting itself partner with omniscience, if not omniscience itself, is unteachable. If it commands an armed nation that has acquired sufficient wealth, nothing can prevent it dragging mankind into the Golgotha Europe has suffered every century since modern kingdoms consolidated into overpowering centres of strength. Democracies are not wholly innocent of warlike passions; but their preparations for conquest can never be prolonged or secret. It is sane and high-principled democracy, democracy capable of self-control and incapable of mob-rule that alone can make a league of nations and the practical cessation of devastating wars practicable. And it is quite possible that Japan may by her widening foreign commerce, and the contact of her far-migrating citizens follow the course that has led Britain, as an island the pioneer in all seas, towards what is practically democracy and that a sane democracy. No community in the Pacific would be afraid or suspicious of such a nation, a nation inspired by the passion for liberty and respect for the rights of other nations and peoples.

13. THE OUTLOOK OF THE ORIENT

If it were asked what nation or race was most likely to dominate the Pacific in industry, commerce and finance, nature answers; it is the race that by instinct works hardest and that at the same time by its passion for education develops its intelligence and its faculties to the utmost, it is the nation that places intellectual and ethical progress

and the mastery of the secrets of nature above all other pleasures in life. The Orient has by a long series of periodical famines developed a race that surpasses all others in industry and submission to discipline. It is such a race too that is the most prolific. It was only the fitful moods of nature producing as they did those very intermittent periods of starvation that saved the world from being overrun by those Orientals that live outside the tropics; within the tropics there was added the inertia of tropical heat and light to prevent the swarming forth of hundreds of millions. They also set a limit to wealth, as well as to population. But now that Western methods of hygiene, industry, organisation and commerce are finding their way into the East famines will recur less frequently and with less devastating effect and the limit to increase of population and of wealth will vanish; while the spread of education will saturate industry and organisation with a more preserving intelligence.

14. NATURE'S PROVISION AGAINST THE COMBINATION OF SUPERWEALTH AND SUPERPOPULATION

What then is to prevent the Pacific Ocean, if not the world, being deluged with extra tropical Oriental humanity and dominated by its wealth and by its unwearied industry once it is transformed by better organisation and the infusion of educated intelligence? It will be another sequence of nature; where wealth accumulates fertility decreases, and the pursuit of leisure and pleasure interferes with the constancy and the efficiency of labour. "The wealth of Armerz and of Ind" not merely in poetry, but in reality, will bring the same results as it has done in the West, a check to the birthrate and the appearance and growth of labour difficulties. China will take centuries to realise unity and efficiency of organisation. Japan has the unity that an insular position gives a nation. But she is rapidly becoming wealthy and wealth will bring all its natural sequences. The prediction that she will have a hundred million of a population not long after the middle of this century will not

be fulfilled. Germany had through her accumulation of wealth entered upon a period of Sodom-and-Gomorrah licentiousness; the birth-debacle had begun in her cities and the country districts would soon have been unable to make up the deficit in population. A wealthy Orient will have the same experience and the same results.

15. THE LOVE OF LIBERTY THE GUARANTEE OF PEACE

But it is far yet from the stage in which that natural sequence begins to work, as it is far yet from that love of liberty which has been at the basis of all democratic developments. The leaven is working even in Japan whose natural unity makes discipline dominant. For not only is education favourable to it but the thousands of Japanese who have gone abroad and are coming into contact with occidental peoples and occidental institutions are drinking in the spirit of liberty at every pore. Even more do the Chinese abroad appreciate the advantages of Western freedom; it was from the migrants that there came the stimulus to revolution in China; and it was returned migrants who gave body and form to the republic. It is difficult for those who know the old East from contact with it to realise how strong the reflux of contact with the West outside the borders of the Orient is going to be. When its full effect manifests itself and the love of liberty becomes as deep in the East as it is in the West, we of the West in the Pacific will feel safe. For "we must be free or die, who speak the tongue that Shakespeare spake. The faith and morals hold that Milton held."